

DECLARATIO
BELLI HUNGARICI,
NUPER EDITA

A

SERENISSIMO

Michaele Apafio,

PRINCIPE

TRANSYLVANIÆ

CONTRA

S. CÆSAREAM

MAJESTATEM.

Ad Exemplum Transylvaniense, Anno 1682.

Universis orbis Christiani Regibus, Principibus, Rebuspublicis Totius S.R.I. Statibus & ordinibus, Gemiscentibus denique sub oppressionum pondere Infelicis Pannoniæ Civibus, Ad sempiternam memoriam. Michael Apafi, Dei Gratia Princeps Transylvaniæ, Partium Regnum Hungariæ Dominus, & Siculorum Comes. Notum facio testorque veritate pura & fide simplicissima.

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Impensis Francisci Smith Sen. apud signum Eliphantisutis Castrophori in vico vulgo dicto Cornhill, 1682.

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121

THE
DECLARATION
OF THE
Hungarian War,

Lately set out by the most Illustrious

MICHAEL APASI,

Prince of *Transylvania*,

Against the

Emperour's S. Majesty.

According to the Transylvanian Copy, Anno 1682.

To all Kings, Princes, and Common-wealths, of the Christian World, to the Estates and Orders of the whole S. Roman Empire: Lastly, to the miserable People of Pannonia, that groan under the burthen of their Oppressions: For everlasting Memory, Michael Apasi, by the grace of God Prince of Transylvania, Lord of (several) Parts of the Kingdom of Hungaria and Count of the Siculians, I do declare and testifie in sincere Truth and unfeigned Faith.

L O N D O N:

Printed for *Francis Smith, Sen.* at the *Elephant* and
Castle in *Cornhill*, 1682.

12

THE

DECLARATION

Hungarian War

and

DECLARATION

of the

of the

Imperial & Royal

According to the Transylvanian Copy, Anno 1882.

and commandments of the Christian World
to the whole of the Christian Empire: I wish to
that you understand the nature of their
and the nature of the Kingdom of Hungary
and the nature of the Kingdom of Hungary
and the nature of the Kingdom of Hungary
and the nature of the Kingdom of Hungary

LOXDOX

Printed for Francis Smith, Sen. at the Elephant and
Castle in Cornhill, 1882.

*Declaratio Belli Hungarici,
&c.*

*The Declaration of the Hunga-
rian War, &c.*

Postquam indignantibus Fatis,
& exitiosa Procerum inter
se discordantium socordia, a
Principibus *Hungarici* san-
guinis, ad *Austriacos* (unde vulne-
rum & malorum omnium scaturigo
profluit) devoluta fuisset Regiæ
Dignitatis Purpura; concatenatis &
in se quodam orbe redeuntibus
consiliis id intentabant, ut labe-
factata & protrita Libertate, quæ
ab aliquot seculis intemerata steterat,
absolutum sibi in *Hungaria* & hære-
ditarium pararent stabilirentque Do-
minatum.

Et licet ex fundamento Libera
Electionis (quæ inter *Hungaros* a pri-
mordiis Regni prima & fundamenta-
lis Lex est) juramenti sanctitate ob-
stringerentur, ne in Præjudicium
Legum & Privilegiorum Regni quic-
quam præsumerent; varii tamen præ-
textus quæsi, ut convulsis Liber-
tatibus animi Regnicolarum exacer-
barentur. Ad hoc congruens & va-
lidum Dominationis arcanum repu-
tabant spargere & fovere dissensio-
num materiem, ut capaciora ingenia,
discordi Libertati obnoxia, in trans-
versum agerent, faciliore tandem
modo vincenda & suppressenda.

Nec in hoc solum Ternitino substitit præpostera Dominandi cupiditas,
sed per ingentes calamitates, & into-
lerabilem rigorem, ruptis fidei &
jurisjurandi repagulis, in omnes pro-
miscue Status, efflictim grassabatur;

After that by the indignation
of Heaven, and the pernicious
negligence of the
Nobles at discord among
themselves, the royal purple and
Dignity was dissolved from the Prin-
ces of the *Hungarian* Blood upon
the *Austrian* Princes (whence all
our Evils and Miseries have taken
rise and flowed forth) they have
with combined and a continued Se-
ries of Councils endeavoured to im-
pair and tread under that Liberty,
which from some Ages had remain-
ed untouch'd, so to get and establish
for themselves an absolute and here-
ditary Domination in *Hungary*.

And although upon the founda-
tion of a free Election (which a-
mong the *Hungarians* even from the
very beginning of the Kingdoms is
the chief and fundamental Law) they
were bound by the Sacredness of an
Oath, that they should not attempt
any thing in prejudice of the Laws
and Priviledges of the Kingdom, yet
sought they various Pretexts to vio-
late Liberties, that thereby the
Minds of the Inhabitants might be
exasperated; to this end they count-
ed it an agreeable and mighty Se-
cret of Domination, to spread and
foment Matters of Discord, that they
might drive the greater Wits (apt
to abuse Liberty by dissention) into
Confusion, the more easily at length
to be overcome and suppress'd.

Neither in these bounds only
stayed this preposterous Lust of Do-
mination, but by huge Calamities
and intolerable Rigors, having bro-
ken the Bars of Faith and Oath, they
rushed violently upon all States pro-
miscue- ously

miscuously, and this was the End and Scope of all their Intentions, that by smooth and cunning Arts, but if these succeeded not, by open force, (the offended God secretly permitting) to overthrow the Safeguards of the Laws and Priviledges of the Kingdom, or that it was done because the fatal period of a flourishing Kingdom was now at hand, that they who refused to obey the Lawful Prince of native blood, might against their will endure a stranger for their Lord.

To these Evils was added the Contempt of the Nobility and Chief Men of the Kingdom; who, maugre the power of Laws, were by little and little excluded or removed from Dignities and Publick Offices, and subjected to the Command and Insolent Domination of Foreigners: thus Injuries daily increasing, and Power growing strong, the state of *Hungary* was fallen so deeply that scarce the image and footsteps of ancient Liberty could be any longer known; whatsoever seemed illustrious and high, was neglected and born down; ruine and destruction was prepared for every formidable *Courage or Virtue*.

Petitions profited not, nor Lamentations; in vain were Appeals made to the King's Faith and Publick Rights; will stood for reason, yea, whatever they listed and thought fit was done according to the measure of over-grown Power; Complaints were sometime admitted but for a shew and revenge, by vain and fruitless words sent back, more often were they eluded by upbraiding and mockery.

The ambition of Governours and Officers of the King, with their insatiable Covetousness and deadly exercise of Cruelty, were grown to such a heighth, that the having of Riches rendered Men suspected and

idque erat omnium intentionum finis & determinatus conatus, ut lentis & ingeniosis artibus, & si hæ non succederent, aperta vi Privilegiorum Regni Legumque præsidia everterentur occulto irati numinis permissu; an quod florenti Regno fatalis periodus immineret, factum; ut qui legitimo nativi sanguinis Principi parere renuerent, alienigenam Dominum inviti paterentur?

Accedebat his malis Procerum Regni Nobilitatisque contemptus, qui dignitatibus & muneribus publicis, contra vim Legum, paulatim exclusi, vel remoti, extraneorum imperio, & insolenti Dominatui subjiciebantur: ita crescentibus in dies injuriis & invalascente potentia, eo præcipitii prolapsus erat *Hungariæ* status, ut antiquæ Libertatis vix imago & vestigia amplius cognoscerentur; quicquid illustre videbatur & excelsum, neglectum erat & attritum; ruina & exitium parabatur omni formidolosæ virtuti.

Non preces proderant, non lamenta; frustranea ad fidem Regiam & ad Jura publica provocatio. Stabat pro ratione voluntas, imo quicquid libebat & expediebat actum; ad normam prætumidæ potestatis, admixtæ aliquando, sed in speciem & vindictam, querelæ, per vana & irrita verba remissæ, sæpius per ludibrium & exprobrationem elusæ.

Ambitus Præfectorum, Officialiumque Regis & eorundem insatiabilis avaritia, atque funestum crudelitatis exercitium, in tantum excreverant, ut suspecti redderentur & in Regem Statumque publicum noxii;

qui divitias haberent: hinc extorta per sceleratissimos prætextus opes, distincta & abrasa Bona, ut vel suam ingluviem satiarent hirudines, quibus ruere aut stare *Hungarium* perinde erat; vel ærarium cameræ saginaretur, spoliarium miserorum & atrocium prædarum infame receptaculum. Proscripta pridem erant vera rerum & congrua vocabula, quippe Bona aliena in pretium proditiōis largiri, clementia: Exulantium & illegaliter proscriptorum fortunas inter nothos Patriæ distribuere, Liberalitas; innocentibus veniam concedere, Titulo misericordiæ colorabatur. Leges, jura, judicia: breviter, Divina & humana omnia penes *Germanos* erant; in Regno, egestas, damna, dedecora & abominanda rerum imago.

His & aliis innumeris, propemodum injuriis cum supra modum premerentur vividi & impatientes servitutis animi, tandem versa in vindictam nimia patientia, ad iusta & concessa remedia proruperunt, Regemque se liberis suffragiis, non Dominum elegisse recordati, extravagantem indirectamque gubernandi formam ad justum tramitem reducere conabantur.

Remedium igitur ex Bello sumptum, statim festini occursum, & ex communi metu, & jactura Libertatum unanimans societas, bonitas insuper causæ animarunt nobilissimam gentem, ut arma necessaria & iusta capesseret, funeratamque Libertatem ex Tenore Decreti *Andree* Secundi Regis cognomento Hierosolymitani, citra infidelitatis vel rebellionis notam, ad pristina integritate

obnoxious to the King and Publick State: hence, by most wicked pretences, Riches were extorted, Goods sequestred and taken away, that either the Leaches (to whom it was all one whether *Hungary* stood or fell) might satiate their greedy Maws, or the Exchequer (the ruine of the miserable, and infamous receptacle of horrible plunders) be cram'd. The true and genuine appellation of things were long since banish'd; for to bestow other Mens Estates for a Reward to Traitors, was called Clemency; to distribute the Fortunes of others (in exile and illegally banish'd) among the Bastards of their Country, Liberality; to pardon the Innocent, was coloured with a title of Mercy, Laws, Rights, Judgments: In short, all, both Divine and Civil Affairs, were in the hands of the *Germans*, but in the Kingdom, Poverty and Oppression, with a shameful and abominable face of things.

With these and other almost innumerable Injuries, when the vigorous minds, and such as were impatient of Slavery, were above measure oppress'd, at last their too long Patience being turned into Revenge, they betook themselves to just and lawful Remedies, and calling to mind, that by their free Suffrages they had chosen a King, not an absolute Lord, they endeavoured to reduce that extravagant and indirect Form of Government to its due course.

For remedy therefore they betook themselves to War, for with sudden Conferences, and by reason of common Fears, and loss of Liberty, an unanimating Society: moreover, the goodness of the Cause encourage the noble Nation to take up just and necessary Arms, thereby to endeavour the restoration of their buried Liberty to the splendour of its former Integrity, according to the tenor of the

the Decree of King *Andrew* the Second, surnamed of *Jerusalem*, and that without any mark of unfaithfulness or rebellion.

The first that attack'd Luxuriant Power, was the Magnanimous Hero, *Stephen Botskai*, a Man of excellent Wit, and famous for Prudence and Warlike Vertue, and esteemed greater than a private man: whilst yet private, this Man being exasperated by great Injuries, opposed himself to the raging Violence with small Forces indeed, but with a great and undaunted Courage, and with a valiant and heroic Mind, falling upon a part of the Emperour's Army, did happily overthrow it, and put them to flight; and following on his first Victory, he filled both the Kingdom and the World with his wonderful Successes, having justly deserved by the unanimous consent of the *Hungarians*, to be declared the Prince of *Hungary* and *Transylvania*, being the restorer of Liberty; which, to his immortal glory, he not only raised from the dust, but also prescribed the manner of Governing to the then King (*old*) *Rodolph* the Second and his Successors, that they might no longer transgress their Power limited and bounded by Law.

Now Peace and Publick Tranquillity seemed to be well provided, for most ample Articles being established by the Treaty, in which by the Faith and Publick Deed of the King, provision was made, that both Ecclesiastic and Civil Liberty should remain safe and secure: but not long after, the Inhabitants found by experience their hope deceived them, and that the expectations of Mortals have but a slippery foundation; for the most *illustrious Botskai* being hatched away, a little after the Peace, and so by premature death, leaving Grief to the *Hungarians*, and a new occasion to the ambitious, whilst almost

tatis splendorem vindicare anniteretur.

Primus qui luxuriantem potentiam aggressus est, erat magnanimus ille Heros *Stephanus Bocskai*, Vir Excellentis ingenii, sagacitate & virtute bellicâ Illustris, majorque privatus judicatus, dum adhuc privatus esset: is ingentibus exacerbatus injuriis, parvo equidem copiarum numero, sed maximo & imperterrito animo, savienti violentiæ se se opposuit, partemque Cæsareani exercitus, forti & heroico animo aggressus, eundem felici successu fudit, fugavit, primamque persecutus victoriam, Regnum & Orbem admirandis progressibus implevit, communi *Hungarorum* consensu meritis, ut *Hungariæ & Transylvaniae* Princeps pronunciaretur: vindex Libertatis, quam ex emortuali pulvere resuscitatam cum immortalis sua gloria non tantum restituit, sed & Regi illius temporis, *Rudolpho* videlicet Secundo, & ejusdem successoribus, ne limitatam & circumscriptam Legibus potestatem amplius transgredierentur, regnandi modum præscripsit.

Jam quieti & tranquillitati publicæ apprimè videbatur prospectum, sancitis per Tractatum amplissimis conditionibus, quibus cautum erat per fidem & Diploma Regium, Libertatem impofterum tam Ecclesiasticam, quam secularem fore sartam, tectam & securam; sed non multo post experti sunt Regnicolæ fallacem esse subinde spem, & mortalium vota fundamento niti admodum lubrico ereptus enim è vivis Serenissimus *Bocskai* brevi post pacem intervallo, adeoque præmaturâ morte, *Hungariis* dolorem, ambitui novam occasionem reliquit, dum eodem penè funerali actu & memoria magni Libertatum vindicis

vindicis & relabenti Libertati parentetur, factu ad omnem posteritatem memorando, dum novo quasi funeri regenitæ libertates immergerentur. Illico quippe occasiones errepæ, pacta recentia, tanquam vi armorum extorta contra fidem & conditiones pacis, quæ omnino spontaneæ erant & liberæ voluntatis, rescindendi.

Quam effrænem licentiam, fideique & juri-jurandi rupturam graviter ferentes cordati Patriæ Cives, ut renovatis malis novam & efficacem medellam opponerent, ad priscam Regibus oppressoribus resistendi facultatem & Prædecessorum eorum protectionem respiciebant, confugiebantque.

Juvit piarum intentionum Zelum exquisitissimarum oppressionum atrocitas, juriumque Divinorum & humanorum everfio, quibus commoti Antecessores mei, *Gabriel Betlen* & *Georgius Rakocius* primus gloriosæ reminiscentiæ Principes (hic duplices injurias, totidemque Belli actus in unum compendium concludo, ad evitandam singularem enumerationem) ut vicinum malum, in ipso, quod dicitur, ortu suffocarent & incumbentem onerosamque potentiam propellerent, afflictiones calamitosæ gentis suas esse rati, iisdem tollendis vel mitigandis omnem curam impenderunt, eo semper fine, ut insolentem & extravagantem Dominationem intra Legum & Privilegiorum Terminos coercerent, ne finale Religionis Libertatisque excidium florentissimum Regnum obrueret, cum damno & præjudicio totius Christianitatis.

at the same time Funeral Solemnities were performed both to the great vindication of Liberty, and relapsing Liberty it self, a matter to be remembered by all Posterity, that the newly recovered Liberties should have as it were a new Funeral, for presently the opportunity was laid hold of, to annul the new made Articles, as if they had been extorted by force of Arms against the Faith and Conditions of Peace, whereas indeed they were voluntary and free.

Which unbridled License, and breach of Faith and Oath, the true-hearted People of the Country grievously resenting, that they might obviate renewed Mischief, with a new and efficacious Remedy look'd back upon and betook themselves to that ancient Power and Protection of my Predecessors, (*viz.*) of resisting oppressing Kings.

The Zeal of pious Intentions was helped forward by the outrage of exquisite Oppressions, and the overthrow of Divine and Humane Laws, whereby my Ancestours, *Gabriel Betlen* and *George Rakocie*, the first Princes of Glorious Memory, being provoked, (here I comprise in one Abridgment double Injuries, and as many Acts of War, to avoid the Enumeration of Particulars) that they might (as they say) strangle a neighbouring Evil in the very birth, and repel incumbent and burthensome Power, and reckoning the Afflictions of a Calamitous Nation their own, employed all care to remove or mitigate them, but always with that intent, to restrain an insolent and extravagant Domination within legal Bounds and Priviledges, lest otherwise the final destruction of Religion and Liberty should overwhelm a most flourishing Kingdom, with the damage and prejudice of whole Christianity.

Arms being again resumed for defence of a most just Cause, which the Divine Power crowned with so great blessing, that the *Austrian* Kings being affrighted with increase of Arms, and unexpected Success, of their own accord offer'd Peace, concluded and confirmed it by Faith, and publick Royal Decree, but this Peace also, ratified by the vast strength of a double Treaty, did neither restore the hoped for Tranquillity, nor lasting Liberty; the Kings took occasion rather by such Truces, in a state of imaginary, and faithless Peace, by wonted and smooth Artifices, to infect and divide the Minds of the great Men and Nobles, whom by Force or War they could not break in pieces.

It would be too long, and a needless labour, to relate in a long course, the Calamities of former times, which since they are contained in the Monuments of History, I therefore repeat not the Memory of them. Leaving then things that are past, I will briefly enumerate the grievousness of those that are present, that the whole World may judge, and know, that the *Hungarians* having suffered Violence, and Injuries, and being contrary to the King's Obligation, and Faith, and the Contents of Royal Sanction, and Publick Laws, deprived of all Liberty, *have taken up lawfull, and just Arms.*

It is to be confess'd indeed, neither can it be recognized without deep sense of sorrow, that even his present Sacred, Imperial, and Kingly Majesty, soon from the beginning of the Government, conferred upon him, according to the manner, and ancient Custom, by free Voices, treading in the steps of his Predecessors, declined from the lawfull way of Governing, to the grievous and absolute form of Domineering: for nothing in the whole time of his

Arma iterum sumpta pro defensione justissimæ causæ, quæ divinum Numen tantâ benedictione coronaverat, ut Reges *Austriaci* incrementis armorum & insperato progressu terribiti pacem ultrò proposuerint, concluderint, fideque & Diplomate Publico roboraverint, sed & ista pax per gemini Tractatus immane robur sancita, neque speratam tranquillitatem, neque duraturam Libertatem restituerat *Hungaris*: occasio potius captata per similes inducias, Regibus, ut in statu imaginariæ & infidæ pacis, per consuetas & delenificas artes Procerum Nobiliumque insicerent atque dividerent animos, quos per vim bellumvè infringere non valuerunt.

Prolixum esset & supervacaneæ operæ præcedentium temporum calamitates longâ serie referre, quæ cum historiarum monumentis comprehensæ sint, idèò memoriam earundem non repeto. Relictis igitur præteritis, præsentium gravitatem breviter enumerabo, ut universus Orbis judicet, & cognoscat *Hungaros* vim & injurias passos, omni quæ libertate, contra obligationem Regiam fidemque & contenta Diplomatis, Legumque publicarum, exutos, arma concessa & justa sumfisse.

Fatendum sanè est, neque sine intimo doloris sensu recognoscendum, quod & moderna Sacra Cæsarea Regiaque Majestas statim ab initio collati ex more & antiqua consuetudine, per libera suffragia regiminis, Prædecessorum suorum vestigiis insistens, à legitimo regnandi modo, ad prægravem & absolutam Dominandi formam deflexerit: Nihil enim toto Regiminis tempore à consuetis & inveteratis contra libertatem molimipibus remissum, parùm & nisi quod placebat,

placebat, ex publico jure supplicantibus concessum, imago quædam Libertatis & ostentamenta Regiæ Clementiæ insensivis servitium portendebant.

In hoc ita pressâ jamque expirantis Libertatis statu non deerant inter *Hungaros* elevata generositatis animi, qui insidiosis hisce machinationibus, & exercitis in publicum exitium consiliis indoluerunt, vim & natâ fidei rupturam modestè repræsentantes, majori tamen *Delo* & conatu quam effectu: sicut enim sua Majestas summum illud *Purpuræ Decus* præcæptum præfloratumque acceperat, ita dum id ipsum ex fide & obligatione ad pristinam integritatem reducere debuisset, per liberam potius & infinitam potestatem gessit.

Hinc ex obsequio & respectu Regiæ Majestati debito (cujus gens *Hungarica* semper fuit observantissima) primò precibus & supplicationibus tentatum rigorosi Dominatus temperamentum: sed cum neque querelæ, neque gravaminum toties conscripta & repudiata volumina vim inordinariæ potestatis sisterent, medela vulnerum in armis quæsitâ, quæ publica Lex justa pronunciat & legitima, eoque in casu arripienda, quando Regum aliquis, non observatò ordinariæ potestatis æquilibrio, ad præposteram dominandi libidinem contra apertissima jura & privilegia Regni cum injuria & oppressione Regnicolarum progreditur.

Atque utinam meliori ordine & validiori conatu continuata fuissent capta pro Libertatibus armis! multo enim decentius honestiusque fuisset

Reign was omitted of the usual and inveterate Endeavours against Liberty; little, and but what he listed, was granted to Supplicants, according to publick right; a certain Image of Liberty, and shews of Kingly Clemency, portended Servitude to the defenceless.

In this state of liberty, so oppress'd, and even expiring, there were not wanting among the *Hungarians*, *Generous and Elevated Minds*, who laid to heart these deceitful Machinations and expert Counsels for publick Destruction, and humbly represented the Violence, and breach of pledg'd Faith, but with greater Zeal and Earnestness, than Effect: for as his Majesty had received that highest Royal Honour cropt and deflower'd, so whilst, according to Faith and Obligation, he ought to have reduced the same to former Integrity, he Governed rather by *Arbitrary and boundless Power*.

Hereupon, from kind dutifulness, and respect to Kingly Majesty, (of which the *Hungarian-Nation* was always most observant) It was first tried by Petitions and Supplications, to moderate a rigorous Domination: but when neither Complaints nor Volumes so often written, and rejected, could stay the Violence of inordinate Power, a Remedy was sought for those Wounds, by Arms, which publick Law pronounces just, and lawful, and to be laid hold of in such a case, when any King not observing the equal ballance of ordinary Power, proceeds to a preposterous Arbitrariness of Lording, contrary to the most manifest Rights and Priviledges of the Kingdom, with Injury and Oppression of the Inhabitants.

And would to God the Arms taken up for Liberties, had been continued in better Order, and more earnest Endeavour: for it had been more becoming

becoming and honest, to have renewed the brightness of obscured Liberty, by generous and constant Deeds, than to undergo the Toak of shameful Slavery, through too much credulity and fatal discord.

But the innate Inclination of the Hungarian-People to dissension, and the Word and Promises of the Sacred, Imperial, and Royal Majesty, which had a mighty bewitching power upon their minds, put a too hasty stop to so great Undertakings.

For as soon as it was known in the Court at Vienna, that thirteen Counties had put on Arms to vindicate their Liberties, forthwith he sent Letters to the said Counties, composed with exquisite Art, to divide their Minds, in which he offer'd Grace to all those, that repenting them of their defection, should return from the Rakotcian-Party, to due Obedience to the King: It was added further, that what Offence had hitherto been committed, no Court, no Law should punish it; all should remain, as to Life, Fame, Fortune, the possession of Goods movable and immovable untouch'd and indemnified. When they understood that this Pardon was publicly ratified by the King's Faith, their Minds being hurried diverse ways, they lost their Heat and Vigour, and Imprudently laying down their Arms, went back to their repose indeed; but for a short time, they imagined that a place of great favour was open to those that would first occupy it, who (truly) under the shew of Indulgence were reserved to a securer Revenge afterward: for some paid it with their Lives, others with their Fortunes, others with perpetual Imprisonment; this never enough to be deplored Inconstancy did easily open a Gate to the Emperour's Forces, and gave them all Opportunities to effectuate their

generosis & constantibus factis renovare obfuscata libertatis claritudinem, quam subire jugum, dedecorosa servitutis per nimiam credulitatem & fatalem discordiam.

Sed innatum Genti Hungaricæ diffidendi studium, & quæ ad effasciandos animos efficacissimæ erant, verbum & Promissiones Sacræ Cæsareæ Regiæque Mattis, obicem tantis cœptis præproperè imposuerunt.

Quamprimum enim in Aula Viennensi innotuisset Tredecim Comitatus arma ad vindicandas Libertates induisse, illicò exquisita ad dividendos animos arte, Literas ad prædictos Comitatus exmisit, in quibus gratiam fecit iis omnibus, quicunque defectionis pœnitentes à Partibus Rakotcianis ad obedientiam Regi debitam redierint: additum insuper, quicquid hætenus delictum esset, nullum forum, nullam Legem vindicturam, omnes in vita, fama, fortuna, bonorum mobilium & immobilium possessione remanuros illæsos & indemnes. Hanc veniam Regiâ fide publicè sancitam cum cognoscerent, rapti in diversas partes animi ardorem & impetum amiserunt, armisque imprudenter depositis ad quietem scilicet, sed brevem nimis, remigrarunt, existimantes ingentis gratiæ locum patere occupantibus, qui sub specie indulgentiæ ad securiorem postea vindictam reservabantur; alii enim vitâ, alii fortunâ, alii perpetuis carceribus mulctati. Hæc nunquam deploranda satis inconstantia, Portam Cæsareanis, omnemque occasionem effectuantiarum intentionum faciliè aperuit, qui omni metu remoto in Hungariam Duce Generali Sporkio ingressi, atque in intima Regni perreptantes, Urbes, Arces, Fortalitia, sine ullo suorum cruore & nece occuparunt; neque enim amplius erant, qui

qui se vi opponerent; promissa gratia lu-
aificati.

His factis; processum ad omnis generis afflictiones, rapinas, turpitudinesque, quas effrænis & licentiosus miles passim exercuit contra tenorem dictarum literarum & asscurationem Regiam: desœdata & direpta Tempia, Castella diruta, everse nobiles Curie, incaptivati raptique ad Tribunal Posonienſe nobiles, promissæ Amnistie incaute fidentes: Multi tamen & cautiores, qui sub larva Regiæ Gratiæ fraudulenta molimina occultari præviderant, paratas insidias evitarunt, in hanc Provinciam, meamque sub Protectionem confugientes.

Exhorruî ad nuncium diræ calamitatis & improvise metamorphoscos: & quia turbini hunc in tempestates gravissimas orbique Christiano præjudiciosas erupturum facile prævideram, statim Ablegatum meum ad Sacram Cæsaream Regiamque Matrem ex bona & sincera intentione emisi, repræsentando Majestati suæ periculum, quod enasci poterit, si in sanando hoc morbo, asperioribus remediis uteretur: miti & remissa medicina agendum, ut in spem & fiduciam Regiæ Clementiæ conciarentur animi, ne ad desperationem redacti, in eas prolaberentur extremitates, quæ aliquando *Hungaria* & toti Christianitati possent esse periculose. Sed hæc mea propositio, & rectum, sincerumque pro Publico commodo studium, quod iterum atque iterum reiterari difficulter auditum fuit, & sine decenti, desideratoque responso remissum: profundiores enim radices egerat absolute dominandi cupiditas, quam ut verbis & persuasionibus evelli quiret.

Omnes actiones, totiusque in Regno Processus perfectam vim, non Regium gubernium redolebat. Nihil quod ex jure & Legibus postulabatur, impetratum: nullius status certus: crimen, ubi opes, neque jam sensum sed præcipiti rigore ad omnia afflictionum genera progressum, ut appareret occa-

intentions, who, now all fear being removed, entred into *Hungary*, conducted by General *Spork*, and crawling into the Bowels of the Kingdom, possessed their Cities, Towers, and Fortresses, without incurring any Wound, or Death, for there were no longer any to oppose them by force; being beguiled by promise of Grace.

These things done, they proceed to all manner of Afflictions, Rapines, and Villanies; which the unbridled and licentious Soldier did every where commit against the tenour of the aforesaid Patents, and Royal Security: Temples were defiled, and taken away, Castles demolish'd, Noble Mens Courts overthrown, and Noble Men made Prisoners; and had to the Tribunal at *Posvonia*, having unwarily given credit to a promised Oblivion: but many being more cautious; and foreseeing that under the mask of Kingly Grace; were hidden fraudulent Enterprises, they shunn'd the prepared Snares, and fled into this Province under my Protection.

I was taken with horrour at the tidings of this dire calamity and unlooked for Metamorphosis: and because I easily foresaw that this Whirlwind would break forth into most grievous tempests, prejudicial to the Christian World, I presently, from a good and sincere intention, sent my Envoy to his Sacred, Imperial and Kingly Majesty, representing to his Majesty, the danger that might ensue, if in curing this Disease, he should use the rougher Remedies: that mild and gentle Medicines should be administred, whereby the Minds of Men might be induc'd, to hope in, and trust to his Royal Clemency, and not, that being brought into desperation, they might fall into those Extremities, which might sometime be dangerous to *Hungary*, and whole Christendom. But this my Proposal and upright and sincere Endeavour for publick good, which was reiterated again, and again, though difficultly getting Audience, was sent back without a becoming and desired Answer; for the lust of a absolute Domination, had taken deeper root, than that it could be pulled up by Words and Persuasions.

All actions, and the whole procedure in the Kingdom smell'd rank of perfect Force, not Kingly Governance. Nothing that was required of Law and Right was obtained; No Man's Condition was certain, there was a Crime, where there was Wealth; and not by degrees, but with headlong Rigour they

proceeded to all sorts of Afflictions, that it might appear, the occasion long sought for, was now greedily laid hold on, whereby a Free Kingdom might be turned into an Hereditary Possession; presently Violence was used, the Honour of Liberties taken away, the Supporters of Laws depress'd, the Nobles driven from their Inheritances and Houses into Banishment and proscribed, all their Goods being confiscated. Dignities, Honours, and Publick Offices, were bestowed upon Foreigners, in prejudice of the Rights of the Kingdom. Moreover, a Council of most rigorous Inquisition was instituted against the Vindicators of Liberty, and others, who they thought would contradict their unlawful attempts. Three Counts, by unlawful Proceedings, were condemn'd, and slain by the detestable hands of Common Executioners, to give a memorable Instance of Cruelty to the whole World: but neither did this suffice to fill up Revenge, the Injuries of this Bereaving were augmented, whilest Children, after their Parents kill'd, or banished, were afflicted with yet another Sorrow, being reduced to Beggary.

To this Tragedy was added the seizing of the Protestants Temples, wherein fury and madness raged with such fierceness, that one would have thought they had waged War with the Sacred Edifices, and that the Walls were Rebels; on a sudden the Ministers of the Churches were thrust out of the Parishes, and sent to exile; from others Promises of never returning being extorted by force and threatnings, that so they might Preach no more, they saved their Lives, and had liberty to depart out of their Country; many as it were peculiar Sacrifices were condemned and sent away to the Gallies, (*horrible and detestable the Example!*) that there leading a hard and sorrowful Life, they might be worn out with *mourning, filthiness, toil, and fasting.*

Besides the Violence of Persecutions, the execrable Domination over Conscience was persisted in: neither were Men allowed to be married, nor Infants to be baptized, but by a Catholic Administrator; Men were every where driven to Mass and Processions, by Force and Arms, and they that strove against it, suffered great Punishment and Fines.

sionem diu quæsitam avidissime arripi, qua Regnum liberum in hæreditarium converteretur; statim visillata, libertatibus sublati honor, Legum depressi Proceres, Nobiles a patriis Penatibus in exilium acti & proscripti, Bonis omnibus Fisco adjudicatis. Dignitates, Honores, & munia publica in præjudicium Jurium Regni Extraneis collata; institutum præterea rigorosissimæ inquisitionis concilium contra vindices Libertatis, aliosque, quos illicitis conatibus contradicturos existimabant. Judicati illegitimo processu, cæsiq; funestis carnificum manibus tres Comites, ut sisterent toto orbe memorandum atrocitatis documentum; sed neque hoc sufficiebat ad explendam vindictam: augerantur orbitatis injuriæ, dum posteri proscriptis vel interfectis Parentibus, alio insuper dolore, redacti ad mendicitatem, afficerentur.

Accedebat ad hanc Tragediam Temploꝝ rum Evangelicorum occupatio: ubi furor & vesania cum tanto impetu desaveiebat, ut bellum cum sacris Ædibus geri, & muros rebelles existimares. Subito Parochiis exturbati Ecclesiarum Ministri, missique in Exilium, alii per vim & minas, extortis reveralibus ne amplius concionarentur, vitam & licentiam recedendi a Patria obtinebant: plurimi veluti piaculares victimæ condemnati, relegatique ad Tiresmes, (horribili prorsus & detestando exemplo) ut ibidem duram & anxiam agentes vitam, luctu, squalore laboribus, & inedia consumerentur.

Instabat præterea vis persecutionum, & execrabile in conscientias Dominium: neque matrimonia, neque infantes baptisandi facultas concessa, nisi administris Catholicis: homines passim ad Missam & Processiones vi & armis puls, qui renitebantur, ingentibus pœnis, & pecuniaria multa affecti.

Ne foeminae quidem exsortes periculi, quæ, quia criminis læsæ Majestatis argui non poterant, ob lacrimas incusabantur; nefas erat & periculosum ingemiscere malis, interdicitumque, ne capite damnatos propinqui deslerent.

Pecuniæ per varias artes & excogitata nomina a misera plebe publice & privatim extorta: præsidia deducta atque imposita; Leges ex libidine imperatae, ubique rapinae, depopulationes, calamitatumque & oppressionum numerus innumerus.

His & aliis inexplicandis injuriis atrocitatibusque concitati Domini Exules, cum per extremam violentiam in ultimum vitæ, Libertatis, & fortunarum exitum præcipitati fuissent, & cum ab omni ope Christianorum destituti, nullam amplius spem mitigandæ severitatis superesse cernerent; sumpta tantis in necessitatibus resolutione, ut Regno & tot innocentium ruinæ subvenirent, ad gratiam fulgidæ *Portæ Ottomanicæ* confugerunt, protectionem ejusdem contra injustissimam violentiam implorantes. Neque frustraneum erat propositum, facile admissæ preces, & quos prædura fors & nimia austeritas Patria extorris reddiderat, iis *Othomanicæ* propensio refugium, securitatem, & media ad sustinendam sustentandamque vitam benigne concessit. *Ita sæpe divinitatis opera ea sunt, ut furias in ipso jam successu securas, subita ultio excipiat, ne vel unquam improbis terror, vel spes calamitosa virtuti.*

Scio equidem plurimos esse, qui hoc extremæ necessitatis factum male interpretantur, gentemque *Hungaricam* præpostere sugillant, & tanquam degenerem a Christiano nomine criminantur: sed illi vel libertates *Hungaricas* in suis fundamentis ignorant, vel Partibus austriacis nimium vellicantur.

Sciendum enim est, & probe notandum, Reges in *Hungaria* austriacæ familiæ per suffragia liberæ electionis (id quod in hoc Regno æquissimum juxta & antiquissimum imperii genus est) ad sceptrum & coronam

Neither indeed were the Women free from danger, who, because they could not be charged with Treason, were yet accused for Weeping; 'twas nefarious and dangerous to mourn under their Miseries, and forbidding them to bewail their Kindred condemned to dye.

Moneys were by various Arts and devised Names publickly and privately extorted from the miserable Common People; Garri-sons drawn off, and [others] imposed, Laws given from Lust; every where Rapins, Spoils, and an innumerable number of Calamities and Oppressions.

By these and other unexpressable Injuries and Cruelties, the banished Lords were provoked, having been precipitated by extreme Violence to the utmost loss of Life, Liberty and Fortunes, and being destitute of all succour from Christians, they saw no further hope of mitigating this Severity, taking therefore resolution under so great Necessities for the relief of the Kingdom and so many Innocents exposed to ruin, they fled to the Favour of the Resplendant *Othoman Port*, imploring the Protection of the same, against most unjust Violence. And their Proposal was not in vain; their Requests were easily admitted, for those whom extreme hard Fortune and too much Austerity had expelled out of their Country, to those the *Othoman* favourableness graciously granted refuge, security and means to sustain and support Life. *Such oftentimes are the Works of the Divine Being, that when Furies are even in the midst of success secure, then sudden Vengeance overtakes them; that Terror may never be wanting to the wicked, nor Hope to calamitous virtue.*

I know indeed there are many that put an ill construction upon this act of extreme necessity, and preposterously reproach the *Hungarian* Nation, and blame them as degenerate from the Christian Name, but these People are either ignorant of the fundamental Liberties of *Hungary*, or too favourable to the *Austrian* Party.

For they should know and well observe, that the Kings of the *Austrian* Family in *Hungary* obtain the Sceptre and Crown by Suffrages of free Election; (the same which in this Kingdom is both the most equal and most

most ancient kind of Government) and are bound by Faith and Oath, which under the open Canopy of Heaven they are wont to depose to preserve the Liberties.

From this Faith and Oath there arose a true and proper Obligation, which was necessary not only for exercising Government rightly and according to the Prescript of the Law and Royal Charter, but moreover gave power to the Palatine of the Kingdom, as to the Keeper of the Liberties, that he might, together with the People, contradict and resist the King, when degenerating from the allowed and ordinary Power, to Cruelty and an unjust License of Lording: Liberty therefore was not cut off, nor in case of reduction to due governance dispaired of, a power of procuring the Protection of any one, even the *Ottoman*, as being a neighbour Monarch.

Many Years are now pass'd, since this most unhappy Kingdom, being placed between two Powers, torn by the one, and press'd by the other, represented to the whole World a miserable Tragedy, the former never took up Arms against *Hungary*, or laid them down, without an increase of his Empire, but with the diminution of the home Borders of the latter: whence it is come to pass, that almost the whole is fallen under the Dominion of a most potent Neighbour, wherefore since this Kingdom every where bordering upon a most mighty Monarch, must of necessity sustain his first Assaults, but the House of *Austria* in their Government, hath never sought or intended any thing, beside the depression of the *Hungarians* and the subversion of their Liberties, and especially the modern Cæsarian and Kingly Majesty hath forced the People of their own nature most plain and equal, to a disgraceful lowness and a miserable state, whilst desparation, which is most mighty in great perils, has armed them, and since by the space of eleven years exile, they neither saw nor could hope for any moderating of Oppressions, it seemed more advisable to fly to the Protection of a most Potent Prince, and to use his help in a Cause of the highest and inevitable Necessity, in respect to the common good, than either to grow old in mournful Banishment, or to precipitate that small part of the Kingdom yet remaining into manifest peril.

pervenisse, fide & jurejurando, (quod sub aperto cœlo, antequam coronarentur, deponere moris erat) ad conservandas Libertates obstrictos.

Ex hac fide & jurejurando nata est vera & propria obligatio, quæ non solum ad Imperium recte & ex præscripto Legum Regiique Diplomatis exercendum necessaria erat, sed & insuper facultatem tribuit Palatino Regni, tanquam custodi libertatum, ut Regi, a concessa & ordinaria potestate ad sævitiam & injustam dominandi licentiam degenerantis, una cum Regnicolis contradiceret & resisteret: non igitur pascissa erat Libertas, in casu desperatæ ad legitimum gubernium reductionis facultas, protectionem cujusvis etiam *Ottomanni*, tanquam vicini Monarchæ, impetrandi.

Plurimi jam anni elapsi sunt, a quo infelicitissimum Regnum, inter duas Potentias positum, ab una discerptum, ab altera pressum in toto orbe miserabilem Tragediam representavit: illa nunquam aut movit contra *Hungariam* arma, aut deposuit, sine Imperii sui augmento, antemuralis autem hujus imminutione: unde factum, ut pæne tota in dominatum potentissimi vicini concesserit; proinde cum Regnum hoc Potentissimo Monarchæ ubique confine, primos ejusdem impetus sustinere necesse habeat, ipsa vero Domus austriaca in regimine suo, præter depressionem *Hungarorum* & everisionem Libertatum, nihil unquam aliud quæverit & intenderit; maxime vero moderna Cæsareâ Regiæque Majestas, Cives sponte æquissimos, ad dedecorosam Lenitatem statumque miserabilem adegerit, eosdem armavit, quæ fortissima est in periculosis desperatio; cumque per tempus undecennalis exilii moderamen oppressorum nullum viderent, neque sperarent, consultius videbatur ad potentissimi Principis Protectionem confugere, ejusdemque auxilii in summæ & inevitabilis necessitatis causâ, ob respectum boni communis, uti, quam vel lugubri in exilio consenesce-re, vel illud exiguum Regni, quod adhuc superest, in manifestum discrimen præcipitare.

Neque prius sunt *Hungari*, qui in sui Defensionem, Protectionem *Ottomanicam* implorant.

Henricus & *Fredericus* fratres Regis *Castiliani* sedente Pontifice *Clemente* quarto, cum socios haberent *Conradinos*, evocantur Terra Marique *Saracenos*, non ut Provinciam tarentur, sed ut *Gallia Italiae* pingeret. *Maximilianus Austriacus*, ut & vim illatam arceret, & quæ præcipue ejusdem intentio erat, Rempublicam *Venetarum* everteret, laboravit *Tancum* in subsidium provocare. *Franciscus* prius Rex *Gallia* cum animadverteret *Caroli* V. ambitionem & formidolosam potentiam, non dubitavit auxilia *Tartarorum* adhibere, sed neque nostris temporibus id decorosum erat *Inclitæ Reip. Poloniæ* *Tartaros* contra *Christianos*, ut se defenderet, evocare.

Neither are the *Hungarians* the first, that have implored the *Ottoman* Protection in their own defence.

Henry and *Frederick*, Brothers to the King of *Castile*, Pope *Clement* the Fourth in the Chair, when they had the *Conradines* their Associates, called out the *Saracens* by Sea and Land, not to defend their Province, but to eject the *French* out of *Italy*. *Maximilian* of *Austria*, that he might repel the Violence offered, and which was his chief intention, that he might overthrow the *Venetian* Common-Wealth, laboured to provoke the *Turk* to his assistance. *Francis* the first, King of *France*, carefully observing the Ambition and Formidable Power of *Charles* the fifth, made no scruple to call in help from the *Turks*; neither was it disgraceful in our times for the renowned Common-Wealth of *Poland* to call out the *Tartars* against *Christians*, for the Defence of themselves.

Præmissis igitur ex rationibus & causis, judicet *Christianus* orbis, agens *Hungarica* libertinæ constitutionis, quæ ex fundamento Jurium & Privilegiorum suorum non tantum partem summi Imperii habebat, sed & in declaratione Coronæ naturalem Libertatem exemptamque Regio Imperio (ut videlicet certo eventui Regi resisteret) sibi reservaverat, inique egerit, quod se se protectioni fulgidæ Portæ, restitutionem Libertatis, securitatemque Religionis, vitæ, honorum, & mantentionem omnium Jurium, Cæsarea fide promittentis, submiserit.

Let the *Christian* World therefore judge from the Reasons and Causes aforesaid, whether the *Hungarian* Nation, being of a most free Constitution, which by its Fundamental Rights and Privileges, had not only part of the Sovereign Power, but also in bestowing the Crown, had reserved to itself a natural Liberty, exempt from Kingly Government, (To wit in a certain Case [if it should happen] to resist the King) Judge [I say whether] they have done perversely, in submitting themselves to the Protection of the fulgent Port, that promises upon the Faith of an Emperour, the restitution of Liberties, and security of Religion, Life and Honour, with the mainenance of all Rights.

Ego vero, qui communi cum hac Gente origine, *Hunorum* ex sanguine descendi, & a Deo omnium Regnorum fundatore ad summum principale *Hungaria* Dominationis ideo me erectum agnosco, ut veluti in specula positus Libertatem religiosam quam civilem defendere, injuriaque præter ullam causam justæ probationem populo liberrimo illatas, in quantum possem, propellere conarer.

I now who am descended of the same common root with this Nation, of the Blood of the *Huns*, and acknowledge my self therefore raised up by God the Founder of all Kingdoms, to the principal Throne of Government of *Hungary*, that placed as it were in a Watch-Tower, I might endeavour to defend Religious and Civil Liberties, and as much as in me lies repel the Injuries done to a most free People, without any proof of Just Cause.

Hi respectus & causæ me impulerunt, ut arma justæ & necessaria caperem ad vindicandum Libertatem, & reducendos Exules

These Respects and Causes have impelled me to take up Arms just and necessary for the vindication of Liberty and bringing back

the banished and oppress'd, therefore no wise and upright Man will wonder at, nor blame my Zeal and Enterprise, since I have undertaken the defence of a most just Cause, of a Famous and Noble Nation, and which is the chief of my own Blood. My only aim is, that Divine Mercy assisting a Kingdom, in time past most flourishing, may be redeemed to its desired tranquility, and a most free Nation to an everlasting [Enjoyment] of their Ancestours Liberty, it is equal and agreeable to reason, to defend Liberty violated contrary to Faith, when that Right is allowed by manifest Privileges, It is just to undertake a defensive War for Friends and Kindred, that suffer unjust Violence; yea, the Bond of Men [as such] one with another, is most extensive, which even alone sufficeth for the bringing of Succour; neither is the right of Humane Society shut up, when oppressing Kings exercise such Injuries towards their free Subjects, as cannot be allowed by any equal and considerate Person.

For what remains, I exhort and warn, yea, I pray and beseech all the States of *Hungary*, that associating with me in Just and Pious Arms, they Endeavour by mighty Deeds, and a hearty Union, to bring back the Glory of worn out Liberty, to its former Splendour, let the Virtue of their Predecessours, who defended Liberty with their Blood and Life, return into their Breasts in a Matter of so great consequence, there is need of a sprightly and constant resolution, the rest are to be committed to Divine Providence, which prosper'd past Endeavours and Actions for vindication of Liberties with most happy Events.

The Controversie is not here about a private Concern, nor the dispute about Catholic Religion, which is founded upon the same common Privileges with the Protestant [or Evangelical] we contend for our Country, for Life, for Fortunes, for the Honour, for the Glory of the whole Nation, they seek an unjust Domination, [your] Blood and Fortunes: Do ye seek Liberty, which no good Men, no honest Men, no generous Man will lose, but together with his Life.

As for me, I am both mindful of Humane Infirmary, and I consider the Power of Fortune, neither do I deny that all things

atque oppressos. Idcirco nullus sapiens & rectus mirabitur, neque Zelum & institutum meum carpere, quando causæ iustissimæ; Gentis inclytæ & nobilis, & quod summum est, sanguinis mei defensionem suscepi. Meus unicus scopus est, ut divina adspirante clementia, florentissimum quondam Regnum in desideratam tranquillitatem, & liberrimam nationem ad avariæ Libertatis immortalitatem vindicetur. Equum est & rationi conveniens, violatam contra fidem Libertatem, concessam per manifesta privilegia jure, defendere. Iustum est pro amicis & cognatis, vim injustam passis, Bellum defensivum suscipere: hominum quippe inter se conjunctio latissime patens est, quæ vel sola ad opem ferendam sufficit: neque præcluditur ius humanæ societatis, quando Reges oppressores, eas in liberos subditos exercent injurias, quæ nulli æquo & recte sentienti prebentur.

Quod superest, hortor & admonéo, imo rogo & obtestor omnes status *Hungariæ*, ut mecum iusta & pia arma sociantes, antistantur per sortia facta & concordem unionem reducere ad pristinum splendorem, proxima Libertatis gloriam. Rebeat in præcordia prædecessorum virtus, qui sanguine, qui vita Libertates tutati sunt. Alacri in re tantæ consequentiæ & constanti opus est proposito, cætera divino Numini committenda, qui præteritos, pro vindicanda Libertate, conatus, actionesque felicissimis eventibus cumulavit.

Non hic de privato res est, non de Religione Catholica disceptatio, quæ Communibus cum Evangelica nititur privilegiorum fundamentis. Pro Patria, pro vita, pro sortibus, pro honore, pro gloria totius Gentis agitur. Illi injustum Dominatum, sanguinem & fortunam petunt, Vos Libertatem queritis, quam nemo bonus, nemo honestus, nemo Nobilis, nisi cum vita simul amittit.

Quod ad me attinet, & humanæ infirmitatis memini, & vim fortunæ repeto, & omnia, quæcunque agam, subiecta esse mille casibus

calibus non inficior : Cæterum quemadmodum in conscientia mea securus sum, eaque intentione ex securo & pacato statu, ad defensionem vestram, Deo Duce & Auxiliatore armatus proficiscor, quod nihil aliud intendam, nisi emolumentum publicæ salutis, ita eventum finemque prosperum indubitato spero.

Quod si autem aliqui invenirentur, qui in publicum Patriæ exitium partes contrarias sequantur, illorum contumaciam, si merita subsequatur poena, non mihi, sed suæ propriæ culpæ & temerario errori imputabunt; spero tamen & confido omnes ordines, consilia, cogitationes, facta, intentionesque suas ad salutem Patriæ & ejusdem amplitudinem emolumentumque directuros. Sanguine majorum nostrorum parta est libertas, hæc lenus sanguine defensa; sanguine quoque; ab oppressione & interitu vindicanda.

Sat præmiorum, sat honoris erit, si vel defensam Patriam liber adspiciat spiritus, vel ea collapsa vindex libertatis dextra, & infons animus inter cadavera suorum ad meliorem patriam migret.

Jehova, Deus Exercituum, Deus Justus & fortis, benedicat ex alto sanctis & licitis conatibus; ipse sit moderator omnium & actionum & consiliorum: disponat & deducat ad sinceram concordiam diversos & dissidentes animos: corroboret sortes, animet pusillanimes, faciatque ut omnia suscipiantur, terminenturque ad sempiternam sui nominis Gloriam: everfarum Libertatum restitutionem: afflictæ gentis quietem tranquillitatemque: omnium & singulorum publicam & privatam felicitatem, Amen.

that I do are subject to a thousand Casualties, but yet as I am secure in my Conscience, and go forth in Arms, God guiding and assisting from a secure and quiet state with such purpose for your Defence, that I intend nothing else, but the Advantage of Publick Safety, so I undoubtedly hope for a prosperous end and event.

But if any be found to follow the contrary part, to the publick ruine of their Country, if their contumacy meet with deserved punishment, they shall not impute it to me, but to their own fault and rash error; yet I hope and trust, that all Orders will direct their Counsels, Considerations, Deeds and Intentions, to the Weal of their Cotntry, and to the Greatness and Advantage thereof: Liberty was gotten by the Blood of our Ancestours; it has hitherto been defended by Blood; by Blood also must it be vindicated from Oppression and Destruction.

It shall be to me Reward enough, and Honour enough, if either my free Spirit may see my Country defended; or if that be ruined, that my right Hand in vindication of Liberty, and my innocent Soul among the dead Bodies of such shall depart to a better Country.

Jehovah, the God of Hosts, the just and mighty God, blest from on high all righteous and lawful Endeavours, be he the Governour of all both Actions and Counsels; Let him dispose and bring to a sincere concord, contrary and disagreeing Minds; Let him strengthen the strong, animate the weak, and cause that all things may be undertaken and ended to the everlasting Glory of his own Name; the Restitution of overthrown Liberties; the Quiet and Tranquility of an afflicted Nation; the publick and private Happiness of all and singular. Amen.